874 Union Medical College. It is reported to be the best equipped institution in the Far East for the study of medical science and has been greatly expanded since 1949. The hospital attached to the college was reported to have trebled its number of beds by the end of 1954.[49] (See chapter on Health and Sanitation in this handbook.)

• 464 873 Problems were created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates and other students to the places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in schools the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."[50] From the beginning of 1950 to the end of 1952, the Central People's Government had assigned 74,000 graduates of institutions of higher learning to various parts of China, and another 34,000 were to be assigned during 1953. In August 1955, a report described how 900 students and workers from Tientsin were performing their government-assigned tasks in Sinkiang Province. Apparently the program of assigning students to work where they are needed continues in North China.

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49. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 951, December 17, 1954, pp. 29-30.

50. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-jung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

657 how the Communists interpret certain common terms. The word relief, although generally taken to mean "money or necessaries given to people who are in need,"[18] to the Communists carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help-through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. For they hold that the state is omnipotent and the individual is subjugated to the state. Therefore, even in relief work their emphasis is on production for the construction of the state rather than for human needs. Most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroads have drawn upon famine refugees to supplement the labor force.[19]

657 In the summer of 1950, the Chinese Com-
464 munist Government at Peking issued several documents concerning relief work. In the cities the problem of increasing unemployment was pressing, and in the rural areas famine was serious. The urban unemployed were ordered to register, and labor employment offices were set up in the cities. "Self-help-through-production" was one of the widely advertised slogans.

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18. H. P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1955, p. 255.

19. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 9-12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 In many counties of Hopei Province in 1951,
464 drought and insects caused widespread famine, and the peasants drifted to nearby cities in search of relief. In one county it was reported that a total of 1,422 people from 61 villages abandoned their homes, and this number included 160 who were village cadres.[20] In Tientsin, new jobs were created to absorb the refugees; in 1951, authorities in Tientsin claimed to have found work for 148,100 refugees. Authorities in the North China Region claimed to have found work for 300,000 refugees in the period 1950-52. The Communists also claimed to have "reallocated" 20,000 beggars, pickpockets, and vagrants and "reformed" 2,000 prostitutes during the same period.[21] The Tientsin municipal government claimed to have established forty-five vocational training classes from which some 9,800 trainees had been graduated. Provisions were made for the care and housing of 14,000 old people, vagrant children, and beggars.[22]

548 The local branches of the Federation of
464 Democratic Women were especially active in Peking and Tientsin. As early as December 1949, the federation, in co-operation with several offices of the municipal government, closed some 385 brothels in Peking, confiscated

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20. Hopei Daily, May 15, 1951, p. 1.

21. T'ien-ching Jih-pao [Tientsin Daily], Octoboer 7, 1952, p. 4.

22. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

548 the property of brothel-owners, and began to train
464 the prostitutes for work in factories. Some 2,000 prostitutes were taken into custody and placed in eight vocational training centers. About 400 persons who derived their income from brothels were sentenced by local courts.[23]

The Tientsin Federation of Democratic Women undertook to further the employment of women workers. In a three-year progress report in September 1952, the federation claimed to have placed some 8,000 women workers, conducted twenty vocational training classes from which 4,000 women were graduated, and formed various production units to employ the services of a number of women.[24]

V. CHILD WELFARE

527 The Nationalist Government, following
657 the practice of dedicating one day in the year to the nation's children, promulgated April 4 as Children's Day in 1931. The new regime changed this date to June 1, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation at Moscow in 1949.[25]

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23. People's Handbook 1950, Shanghai, Section 7, p. 20.

24. Tientsin Daily, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1.

25. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [Historical Resources on Memorial Days], Shanghai, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 180-83.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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248 (7,500 per acre) to 45,000 (11,250 per acre) to 67,500 (16,875 per acre).[31]

VII. COMMENTS

•464 668 166 In the spring of 1955, the "Back-to-the-Villages Campaign was launched in most of the large cities in China in an effort to persuade or force peasants to return to the rural districts. Many peasants, dissatisfied with the rigorous demands made upon them and the arduous life on the farms, had abandoned farming and gone to the cities in search of an easier livelihood. Although conditions in North China are not as discouraging as in the East and Central-South China regions, the fixing of production quotas (often increased arbitrarily), the collection of grain tax (always a heavy drain on the farmer), and the forced sale of grain (at fixed prices) to the government have exerted a tremendous burden on the poor farmer. Communist cadres have attempted to foist agricultural producers' co-operatives upon the rural masses, who found no way of expressing their resentment or reluctance at this forced change in their farming methods except by abandoning their plots of land and seeking work in areas less

31. Ibid.

464 668 166 strictly controlled. Most of the peasants who fled to the cities found it difficult to make a living, since industry cannot quickly absorb inexperienced workers. Another serious problem caused by the increase of city populations was the subsequent need for grain-rationing. Furthermore, prices are relatively higher in the city, and this fact alone may tend to drive the unemployed to rural districts where the danger of starvation is not so immediately felt. However, it is doubtful if these serious problems can be solved by the Back-to-the-Villages Campaign, unless the Communists recognize the need to modify the severity of their rural policies.

C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

466 461 establish night schools and "cultural centers" the workers were too busy to make use of them. Their leisure time was occupied in political study, discussions, and self-criticism meetings as well as government campaigns, movements and drives. According to a Communist report, the workers and staff members in Tientsin factories spent 50 to 60 hours per month in political study and at meetings. The "activists" usually came to the factory at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10:00 p.m.[39]

D. Unemployment

• 464 Under Communist rule, everyone is said to be guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment, which has been a problem for the new regime, is considered by the Chinese Communists to be a legacy of capitalistic society which will disappear eventually.

The Communist policy of unemployment relief has been based upon the "substitution of work for relief," "self-help," and a series of "Back-to-the-Villages" campaigns. Thousands of unemployed workers have been recruited as forced labor and set to work building highways and railway lines or working on water conservation projects and state farms.[40]

In February 1950, the Peking General Trade Union promulgated regulations concerning un-

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39. China Weekly, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 11.

40. See chapter on Forced Labor in this handbook.

464 employment relief in Peking: (1) all of the workers in factories, mines, and shops employing more than ten persons shall contribute one per cent of their wages to a relief fund; (2) those who receive the benefit of the relief fund shall pay back one per cent of the total amount received after return to work; (3) unemployed workers who receive relief are obliged to work for the government and continue their political education. Under the last regulation, many unemployed workers in Peking had been drafted for municipal construction projects.[41]

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

461 185 After the initiation of the First Five-year Plan in 1953, the Communists announced that all manpower and material must be utilized to increase production in order to complete the industrialization of China, and that the improvement of the living standard must depend upon the development of production; therefore, the Chinese people, especially the industrial workers, must strive for this goal in a "spirit of bitter struggle."[42]

According to the plan, China's total industrial output is scheduled to be increased by 98.3 per cent during the period of the first Five-year Plan, ending 1957. In April 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive calling for a renewal of the labor emulation drive,

41. Worker's Daily, Feb. 17, 1950, p. 1.
42. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 5.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2]

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year.

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month.

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 , AF 12 North China AF 12

daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

Mu	*1st District*		*Experimental District*		*Hsien*	
	Villages	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Famine,[1] show clearly the undoubted over-population of wide areas in North China. A careful study of the cost of living and of family budgets for unskilled laborers and farmers, and also of the available food supply in certain areas of North China, shows that there is frequently in large districts a shortage of food.[2] The desire for sons to reverence the spirits of the departed, combined with the custom of early marriage, has in certain areas been the cause of a population increase greater than the land, under prevailing agricultural methods, could support. The result of this situation, coupled with lack of adequate communications and industrial development, has naturally caused a surplus of labor both in the agricultural districts and in the adjoining cities.[3] This surplus labor is an important factor in understanding the necessity for the monopolistic features of guild organization.

GOVERNMENT AND THE GUILDS

In contrasting the guilds of Europe with those of China, Morse claims that the principal difference between the two is that whereas in Europe the guildsmen were very closely related to local government, in China they have no such connection, but, on the contrary, frequently stand as a united body opposed to the encroachments of the official.[4] It is therefore evident that in considering the background of Chinese guilds it is essential that we have in mind the official system of that country and the resulting pressure upon the guilds by tax collectors.

[1] Mallory, *China, Land of Famine* (New York, 1926), pp. 7-20.

[2] C. B. Malone and J. B. Tayler, *The Study of Chinese Rural Economy*, China International Relief Commission Publications, Ser. B, No. 10 (Peking, 1924); C. G. Dittmer, "An Estimate of the Chinese Standard of Living in China," *Quart. Journ. of Economics*, vol. 33, 1918, pp. 107-128.

[3] Mallory, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-34.

[4] Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

furniture dealers whereby they were permitted to leave special cash boxes for guild use in the stores. Formerly when any group of guildsmen had finished a job one out of every ten coppers made was deposited in the cash box in the nearest of these stores. At present one out of every fifty coppers is thus deposited.

The guild head reported that the chief advantage of membership was that only members have the privilege of working. "They must be members, otherwise they are not eligible to do the work." It must not be forgotten that with the great surplus of labor and the appalling poverty in Peking, it is a privilege of a high order to have a steady job that no one can take away from you.

The emphasis throughout this report on the value of monopoly raises the question as to whether or not this emphasis is owing to the decadent condition of the guild. Presumably in older days these porters carried on a function of greater social importance than the present one. There probably was a larger number of porters and more work done, and the porters had a definite relationship to Court functions. The guild no doubt had steady influx of new members. Possibly there was pride in the quality of service rendered as well as satisfaction in the sense of security that the monopoly offered. With the decreasing membership and the narrowing of the functions the whole aim appears to be to hold fast for themselves and their relatives their precious economic privileges.

The guild is organized as follows: There are two "passes" in the Southern City. The Western "pass" has 40 "leaders" and 70 porters, while the Eastern "pass" has 4 leaders and 23 or 24 porters. The guild's operations are thus confined entirely to the Southern part of the city of Peking. The guild has approximately 180 members. It is ruled by four "elders," three from the West division and one from

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys."[1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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retainers of the Court who were formerly kept alive by government doles of rice. It is generally considered that the Manchus in Peking are not so hardworking as the Chinese. There is also in Peking a tremendous amount of public charity, both of an indoor and an outdoor nature, which tends to draw to the city large numbers of persons who are not given to putting in a hard day's work.[1] The hardy villagers are better material than the poor of Peking. Furthermore, in recent years large areas of North China have suffered from famine, drought, flood, or military disturbances, which threw out of work large numbers of thrifty peasants. It is natural that in looking for good material for apprenticeship training the guildsmen should turn to these country districts as a favorable recruiting ground. The Mat Tent Builders, however, definitely require that their apprentices shall be "natives of Peking."

The Dye Stuff Stores report that "the apprentices are exclusively from among Shansi (Province) people." Such specific designation of the place from which the apprentice shall come is, however, very unusual in our reports.

C. Beginning Training

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It is customary in many of the guilds to have a written contract drawn up between the guarantors and the master who is to look after the training of the new recruit. This master may be the head of the shop or store, or merely one of the foremen or an ordinary workman of experience. In the professional guilds he is one who has mastered the profession to be taught. In this agreement the usual arrangement is that the parent or guarantor shall supply the clothes during the period of apprenticeship. In a few cases it is specifically stated that if the apprentice is too poor the store or shop will supply clothing. It is customary for the store

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, chap. xi.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

The general rule among the craft guilds is that the apprentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage during his period of training. Apprentices of masters with no shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages of unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is completed. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount is frequently given to apprentices after the first year.

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal festivals of the year if he has worked well. Many commercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at the end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores have the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day for each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is presented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of the festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one thousand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the apprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is given a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the end of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores Guild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The Hat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each year of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month, the maximum at the end of the third year.

In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there is a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that in all probability the thought of definite hours has not occurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as long as there is light to do work. In studying the actual number of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices and workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that

[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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94.4 per cent of the 6,834 employed worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day, while 93.3 per cent of the same group worked seven days a week. A few Christian rug factories account for the 6.7 per cent of those that had one day's rest in seven. These hours are probably characteristic of the usual working hours of the apprentices, varying according to the season of the year.

The three principal festival times of the Chinese year that are reserved as holidays for the workers are: (1) the Chinese New Year season, which lasts for about ten days; (2) the Dragon Festival on the fifth day of the first month, which lasts about three days; (3) the Mid Autumn Festival on the fifteenth of the eighth month which also lasts about three days.

F. Age of Apprentices

Mr. Blaisdell in his study of the rug industry found boys as young as eight or nine years of age,[1] but the usual age of apprentices was eleven or twelve years. Mr. Gamble gives fourteen or fifteen years as the average age of the first year apprentices.[2] We have no data as to the age of the apprentices working in the stores in Peking. Undoubtedly the age varies in different industries, and also according to the conditions of famine, drought, flood and brigandage in country districts which would make it imperative for many small boys to find work in order to live. As there is no legislation regarding the age of workers and an always unlimited supply of workmen, one would naturally expect to find boys working at the earliest age wherever it is physically possible for them to carry on the activities required of apprentices. The masters, however, naturally prefer older and stronger boys who cost no more than younger boys who are not able to do much work.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p, 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

system with its social and economic background, we are forced to admit that it is very well adapted to Chinese life. Formerly only the children of wealthy merchants or of the more prosperous farmers had an opportunity to acquire an education, and this was of a classical and purely theoretical nature. "Education" consisted in a knowledge of the Chinese classics. "Vocational education" as such was unknown. The guild system gave to boys of ability whose parents were economically unable to allow them to study, an opportunity to learn a craft, trade or profession. The guild system relieved the family of the financial burden and prepared the boy for a future occupation. On the other hand, it supplied the Chinese merchants and craftsmen with an abundance of cheap labor. Recruited at an early age, boys who had three or more years of life in the shop and a knowledge of the ways of the craft became staunch guildsmen trained in the tradition of their group.

The guilds as an educational agency are most attractively and idealistically reflected through the words of the "Maxims and Rules for Apprentices" which are printed in *Peking: A Social Survey*.[1] In these maxims thrift, economy and courtesy are taught. The apprentices are urged to be of inquiring spirit and to learn how to endure hardship, and also to learn how to get on satisfactorily with their fellow men. One would think after reading these passages that the guild was primarily designed to train these young men in moral character. No doubt in many shops and stores this training is carried out successfully.[2]

In greatest contrast to the principles and ideals embodied by these rules is the description of actual conditions among apprentices in the rug industry of Peking.[3] It

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 440 and Appendix.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

[3] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low-water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys recruited from the country districts are brought to work for three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maximum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would probably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Two-thirds, aggregating 146, of the 220 persons were gainfully employed. Of this number 72 were males and 74 were females. The following table gives the distribution of employment and unemployment among persons of different age-groups.

Table. 5—Distribution of Employment and Unemployment, by Age and Sex

	Age group	Under 5	5-	10-	15-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	All ages
Male	Gainfully employed	—	3	7	8	11	22	12	6	3	—	72
	Unemployed	14	15	9	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	42
	Total	14	18	16	8	12	23	12	7	3	1	114
Female	Gainfully employed	—	3	15	8	12	19	9	4	3	1	74
	Unemployed	14	7	2	—	—	1	3	2	2	1	32
	Total	14	10	17	8	12	20	12	6	5	2	106

While none under five was employed, persons in the 15-20 age group were, however, all engaged in some form of employment. This is true of both sexes. The only difference between the two sexes that appears in the present study is that more male members than female of the 5-10 and 10-20 age groups were unemployed. It seems that whereas the boys were unable to find suitable employment, young girls were contented to occupy themselves with manual work at home, thus helping their elders by contributing some of their pay to the family income.

Occupations of the employed persons may be classified as in Table 6.

It should be mentioned that by occupation is meant here any employment that is gainful to the person so employed. Apprenticeship, for instance, can hardly be called an occupation in the same sense as tailoring or spinning, but as an apprentice always stays away from home and thereby enables his family to save some expense on him, not to say the training he receives,

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

he is, therefore, decidedly a person with an occupation. Coal-picking is likewise considered an occupation, because it is some service rendered generally by the children in order either to save for the family some expense on fuel or through selling it to add some income to the family. Though, strictly speaking, both are not occupations as is generally understood, yet they are undeniably gainful employment from the standpoint of the family.

From Table 6, one finds that more than half of the employed males were rickshamen, while four-fifths of the employed females were engaged in sock-finishing, artificial flower-making, yarn-spinning and tailoring. It should be observed that the persons listed in this table had frequently more than one occupation, for employments of a similar nature or requiring little skill are often exchangeable. Thus, the yarn-spinner might, at times, take up yarn-spinning, while the rickshaman might temporarily turn into a carrier. That there should have been such a strong representation of women in manual occupations may be explained by the fact that the households for which the accounts were kept were selected with a view to supplementing the study of the Peking handicraft trades. They earned their pittance, in order to make some contribution to the insufficient income of their husbands or sons. As regards the gainfully employed males, however, their occupations were diversified, though the rickshamen alone represented one half of them. The fact that there should have been so many rickshamen in the samples taken up by the inquiry is not only interesting but calls for some consideration. Though it should be confessed that such a predominance of rickshamen among the employed males was quite unexpected, yet after a careful study of the labour conditions of Peking in general and of its manual workers in particular, the phenomenon was in fact not so peculiar or abnormal as it appeared. In order to enable one to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss briefly at this juncture a few outstanding facts concerning labour in Peking.

In the first place, the handicraft trades, of which a study was made by this Department, were essentially those of women. In

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

area of Hopei Province, but also a very large market for the distribution of manufactured commodities to the neighbouring farmers and the government employees. Towards the end of the Tsing Dynasty a railway was built connecting Peping with Kalgan direct. Although there is a station at Ching Ho it is some distance from the town. It is more convenient for farmers to transport their grain and agricultural produce directly through to Peping by the railway than to stop at Ching Ho to market it there. Consequently the grain market at West Gate of Peping (Hsichihmen) is competing with Ching Ho, and is threatening to take its place as the most important grain market in this district. Some time after the revolution all the government institutions, such as the military academy, the military factory and the acrodrome have been suspended owing to political disturbances, and a large number of people have been thrown out of employment. But the disadvantages through political disburbances have been in some measure offset by the fact that communications by railway were also upset, and so grain passing through on old highway has given Ching Ho a temporary opportunity of reviving its ealier prestige. When the political situation improves it is confidently expected that both the government institutions and the railway will resume, and that although the position of Ching Ho as the primary grain collecting centre of the northwestern area will probably be impaired, yer its position as a distributinn centre for the surrounding neighbourl.ood, and for the goveinment institutions, will be strengthened.

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10. Years of Service of Store Workers.

Here again we have not taken females into our calculations as only one woman holds a regular position in a store; the rest just help in various small ways. In addition to the 496 males there are 42 apprentices below the age of 16 years also included here.

A study of the years of service throws a great deal of light on the turnover or stability of the working force in the stores. In Ching Ho 321 persons or 60.8% have served for less than five years, and 207 or 39.2% for more than five years, which we should consider an indication of labour stability.

In studying the yearly labour turnover we natually expect to find a progressive rate, more dropping out and having to be replaced each year, but in Table XXXII we notice that the data in the column ot "original data" does not conform to this hypothesis. A much smaller number of persons fall within the first period as compared with the second period, and the tenth period, or nine years of service has a very small turnover, while the next period again takes a jump. From our common knowlege it is safe to affirm that the number of new persons in the first period would be at least as large as the second, although there may be times when one year's business may be very good and the next year poor, but the chances are small as compared with normal conditions through these twenty or thirty years we are considering. From what we were able to learn in Ching Ho there were no abnormal conditions present, and the writer feels sure that the sharp

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

difference is not due to irregularities of business, but to wrong reports being made, as people will often say they have been at a place for one year when the actual

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TABLE XXXII. YEARS OF SERVICE OF STORE WORKERS.

YEARS OF SERVICE.	ORIOINAL DATA.	CORRECTED DATA.
Under one Year	35	89.0
1 Year	143	89.0
2 Years	69	69.0
3 „	47	47.0
4 „	27	27.0
5 „	33	33.0
6 „	33	33.0
7 „	24	24.0
8 „	14	14.0
9 „	5	13.0
10 „	21	13.0
11-15 „	27	5.4
16-20 „	19	3.8
21-30 „	26	2.6
30	5	
Total	528	
Unknown	10	

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 464 period is only nine or ten months. we place the difference in the tenth and eleventh periods to this same proclivity for talking in round numbers, and if we average these periods we feel that we shall arrive at a more accurate result. The average length of tenure for the 523 cases is 5.6 years according to the original data, and 5.5 years according to the corrected data, which we should consider a creditable record.

TABLE XXXIII WAGES OF STORE WORKERS.

MONTHLY WAGES IN MEX. DOLLARS	NO. OF PERSONE.
Under one	16
1 - 1.99	39
2 - 2.99	74
3.- 3.99	78
4 - 4.99	54
5 - 5.99	34
6 - 6.99	8
7 - 11	6
Total	309

$$\text{Mean} = 4.25 + \frac{-325}{309} = 4.25 - 1.52 = 2.73$$

11. Wages of Store Workers

443 465 Of the 538 workers only 309 or 57.4% receive any kind of monetary payment. The distribution and average payment is preseted in Table XXXIII.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

WATER

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a local saying, as the water supply of most families is brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

124 fact, their houses were not even numbered and the rooms were invariably so small that the investigator could not possibly go in, while female inmates were there. Frequently their relatives or friends were asked to serve as guides, taking the investigator to the various houses. The time available for the investigation was rather limited, as the workers being mostly of the skilled class were generally only free at their respective homes from seven to ten o'clock in the evening. Needless to say, our purpose of making this investigation that was repeatedly explained to the resident workers had to be reiterated to the non-resident workers. It was a trying task to the investigator to have to listen patiently to the endless tales of the miserable families on the one hand and to be economical in time on the other, for any sign of impatience which he might show on his part would be interpreted to imply insincerity and lack of sympathy. Thus, the amount of time consumed in the investigation of one family was about one hour and a half which was often sufficient for investigating three resident workers. It may be argued that the time thus consumed might be spared, if the investigator could just call in those workers and question them instead of visiting them at their homes. But then it would deprive him of the opportunity to gain first-hand impressions on the living conditions of the workers at home. A careful examination of the home environment often disclosed to the investigator certain points which the worker either failed to report or failed to report accurately.

464 434 511 Irregularity of the Work.—With the exception of seventy-five who were skilled, all the other workers in the factory were constantly subject to change of employment, and, as a consequence, their cost of living must have changed also. Worker A, let us say, was engaged in salt manufacturing in March, and his expenses for food and clothing were rather high, as his income was increased to the amount of $4 or $5 a month. In June, however, he might be transferred to do the job of a watchman with a reduction of his wage and all his expenses had to be reduced accordingly. In November, he might again be called upon to pull coal cart. His expenses for shoes and socks might

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice

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here to show the nature of the concern in which our workers were employed. Data which the Factory deems confidential have all been withheld.

Abnormal Period.—Political disturbances in the past few years have seriously affected the business of the factory. From May to July 1926, three shops in the factory were one after another closed down, while only one was left in operation. During this period, production was greatly curtailed and chances for paying the salt bonus which certain workers would receive on account of their part in increasing the output of salt had necessarily become rather rare. The slump in the salt refining business undoubtedly brought unhappy consequences on the economic conditions of the workers. In normal years, workers generally devoted six months to manufacturing salt, while during the last year they worked only two months on it. The annual income of the salt workers was thus reduced by an amount of four months of salt bonus which is about $20 or about one-eighth of their yearly income.

Worker's Estimate.—On account of the generally low intelligence of the workers, not more than two or three in one hundred could keep their own account books. Figures on the schedules were all supplied by the workers and duly filled out by the investigator himself. As these figures were mostly obtained through cross-examination of the workers at various points and were also carefully studied later, they may be considered to have approached a high degree of accuracy. However, inaccurate estimates were still apt to occur. For instance, a worker might be told by a friend who had been investigated that certain questions were to be answered in certain ways, and in this case, the figures he gave for his own expenses would be more or less influenced by the advice of his friend. At other times, a worker would make use of another man's figures provided he found them serviceable. At still other times, a worker might base his expenses upon the figures of a few days, which he happened to remember rather than upon the average expense for the whole year. In the first case, the

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and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

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381 according to their efficiency into three classes: superior, medium, 466 and inferior, and reported to the managerial department by the 258 supervisors who are on the staff of the management. Increase of salary, distribution of bonus and dismissal of workers are all based upon this report. The chief of the managerial department, whenever he finds it necessary, conducts a personal investigation of the workers, so that no injustice is intentionally done to any body.

381 Number of Workers.—The number of workers in the factory 258 varies from time to time and is determined by its business conditions. In the prosperous year of 1925, there were 660 workers. During these years of general unrest and business depression, however, the number of workers has been reduced to about 500. The factory records of April 20, 1927, show that the number of workers was 556. They were distributed in the various sections of the factory as follows:

Table 1.—Number of Workers in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Per cent
West Section	262	47.1
East Section	207	37.2
Iron Workshop	45	8.1
Power House	15	4.8
Dormitory	22	2.7
Salt Field Administration	5	0.9
Total	556	100.0

The workers may also be classified into the skilled and the common thus:—

Skilled labourers	75	13.5%
Common labourers	481	86.5%

• 464 Length of Employment of the Workers.—Table 2 shows the distribution and percentage of the 556 workers according to their length of employment in the factory. As a rule, the number of workers varies in inverse proportion with the number of years:

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there is a gradual dwindling of workers as time goes on. But as the recruiting and to a much less extent the discharge of workers fluctuates every year, a departure from this rule may be seen in this table. It is noteworthy that 21.9 per cent of the workers entered the factory for a period of less than a year; this figure may also be taken as the usual rate of labour accession in a normal year.

Table 2.—Length of Employment of Workers in the Factory

Length of employment	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 1 year	122	21.9
1 year and under 2 years	39	7.0
2 years and under 3 years	76	13.7
3 years and under 4 years	53	9.5
4 years and under 5 years	46	8.3
5 years and under 6 years	85	15.3
6 years and under 7 years	46	8.3
7 years and under 8 years	29	5.2
8 years and under 9 years	29	5.2
9 years and under 10 years	23	4.1
10 years and under 11 years	5	0.9
11 years and under 12 years	2	0.4
12 years and under 13 years	1	0.2
Total	556	100.0

Nativity of the Workers.—Facts concerning the nativity of the 556 workers were clearly and reliably stated in the factory records. But as the latter were not accessible to the investigator, only a rough estimate of it is herein attempted, based upon talks with old-time workers and factory authorities.

In 1927, most of the workers came from Shantung, Chihli and the Metropolitan District. Shantung had the largest number, comprising nearly 50 per cent of the total number of workers. Chihli ranked second, comprising nearly 40 per cent and the Metropolitan District, the third, comprising 7 per cent. The rest

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464 came from Honan, Shansi, and other provinces.

464 Shantung is one of the most densely populated of our provinces. Even if its inhabitants have not been visited with famine, flood, banditry and warfare in recent years, they have, 166 however, been regularly moving out to other provinces. Many of them go to Manchuria to seek a living; but a goodly number is drawn to wherever labour is needed. Now what the Chiu Ta Factory particularly needs for its salt refining work is exactly such hardworking and industrious people as Shantung supplies. And this explains the presence of a Shantung majority among the workers of the factory. The demand for work by Shantung emigrants is certainly an astonishing phenomenon in this country at present. In February 1927, when the news that two or three new operatives were needed in the factory becames known to the workers, some 400 Shantung people lined up at the Tangku Station, applying for work. Among the Shantung workers, those from Tingchow, Tsaochow and Wuti constituted the great majority.

464 The workers from Chihli come next in number. First, natives of Tangku formed a great number of the skilled workers in the iron workshop and the power house. They were often recruited from the workers of a dockyard on the opposite bank of the river, where they had either received training or working experience. Few natives of Tangku cared to be common labourers at the factory, because they could easily earn a livelihood by being coolies at the wharf or in industries connected with fishing or salt-drying. The demand for wharf labourers and rickshaw coolies has been materially increased since last year when Tangku became a port of North China. Secondly, almost all the carpenters of the factory came from Shen Hsien, Chihli, a place noted for carpentry work. Such districts as Tientsin, Ching-Hai, Yenshan, Tung-Kuang were also represented among the workers, either because of territorial propinquity or of some other reason.

People of the Metropolitan District who can neither endure hardships like the Shantung people nor excel in skilled workman-

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ship likes the natives of Tangku, were mainly employed in the work of management. 464

Age of the Workers.—No reliable data exist to show the ages of the workers. However, it may be said that most of them are young and strong. As salt refining work requires robust and healthy men, it is stipulated by the factory that in the physical examination of the applicants for work, old men will not be admitted. There were, at the time of our investigation, only 4 or 5 men over 50 and only 12 apprentices under 18. The remaining 540 workers were from 18 to 50 years old. Of this number, about three-fourths were between 20 and 35 years of age. The age of the newly recruited workers, on the average is about 20. Among the latest batch of recruits, the average age seems to be still lower.

Families of the Workers.—Since most of the workers are young and have come from afar, it would be interesting to study how many of them had families with them at Tangku. According to the factory records of three years ago, only few of the workers brought their families to Tangku. During the last two years, however, the number has gradually increased. In the winter of 1926, the number of workers' families increased from the neighborhood of 70 to 136. The total number of the workers having families distributed in the different sections of the factory is shown in Table 3.

It may be noticed in the following table that among the workers in the iron workshop and the power house, a much higher percentage had families than among the others. It seems that two reasons may be advanced to explain this fact. First, men in the iron workshop and the power house are mostly skilled workers and are natives of Tangku; consequently their families have already been there. Secondly, the skilled workers are, as a rule, more highly paid than the common labourers and they can afford to maintain families which are in Tangku already, or have lately been brought over from their native districts. But within the last six mouths, there happened, it was reported, an increase of fifty families over and above those which had already come

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464 there at Tangku. The reason for this sudden increase of the workers' households, however, differs from what we have just stated regarding the skilled workers. First of all, as certain parts of Shantung and Chihli have not only become entirely unproductive but unfit to live in on account of disorder and

Table 3.—Workers having Families at Tangku as Distributed in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Workers having families	
		Number	Per cent
West Section	262	59	22.5
East Section	207	37	17.9
Iron Workshop	45	26	57.9
Dormitory	22	5	22.7
Power House	15	10	66.7
Salt Field Administration	5	1	20.0
Total	556	136	24.8

warfare, families living there had to move out and join their own people working in towns. Secondly, owing to the general rise of prices, the cost of living has gone up enormously. While, in previous years, the workers might have savings to send home to support their families, now they would use up their earnings entirely for their own subsistence. Once their contributions are cut off, the people at home would find it necessary to quit their homesteads in order to join them. These relatives after their arrival would press the workers for money or they would squeeze a living out of what the workers could earn. At any rate, the rise in the cost of living, (or to put it in another way, the fact that the rise of wages lags behind that of prices) tends to shift the family from the country to the town, where one of its members is working. Viewed from this aspect, the increase of the workers' families at Tangku can hardly be taken as a sign of prosperity.

Rate of Turn-over.—There is no definite date for admitting new labourers, but it usually happens at the end of the year or in February, when a number of workers is discharged. Recruiting

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of workers does not require any publicity, as once the news is known to the workers, the latter would introduce their acquaintances and friends who were looking for work. The applicants are given a physical examination and their age must be around twenty. If the above requirements are met and on furnishing a guarantor as well as expressing their willingness to observe the regulations of the factory, the workers are admitted. They are usually discharged on the recommendations of the supervisers in February and July, but more frequently in July. On the average, the number of dismissals is around 20 a year. In recent years, however, it has decreased considerably through better management. From July 1926 to June 1927, only five workers were dismissed in the east section. Those who quit for family reasons or out of their own will are usually about 20 a year. The occupations the workers follow after leaving the factory are said to be as follows: farming 60 per cent, small business 20 per cent, other kinds of work 20 per cent.

The work of the common labourer is subject to frequent changes. Even the skilled labourer is only confined to tending the electric plant or making spare parts for simple machinery. As the work of salt refining is of such a nature that only strength and endurance are required, repetition of the same work does not necessarily give rise to efficiency. Thus, in the factory, change of work is a rule rather than an exception. It is unfortunate that we are unable to analyse the change of jobs among the workers, as the records concerning it are not accessible. What we could secure is limited only to the change of workers. According to a statement made by a chief of the managerial department, the annual rate of replacement is about 8 per cent of the total number of workers in the factory *i. e.* the number of dismissals and admittances is about 40 each a year. But it seems that on account of the irregularity of work in the factory during the last year, the rate of turnover must have been still higher.

Different Kinds of Work.—The work in the Chiu Ta Factory may be divided into the principal and the subsidiary. The principal part of the work is confined to salt refining. The

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labourers of the factory are maintained during slack times without causing unemployment among them. The predominance of subsidiary workers, as is shown in Table 16, is because of the fact that, at the time of our investigation, salt production in the factory was very much curtailed on account of the depressed conditions of the trade, and a greater number of labourers engaged in the principal work had to be transferred to do subsidiary work. Among the 86 resident workers, 71 worked eight hours a day. This shows the fact that the eight-hour day is the prevailing system in the factory.

As regards the length of employment of the 86 resident workers it was found that 26 workers have been in the employ from one to three years, 42 workers from four to six years, 17 workers from seven to nine years, and one ten years. This agrees approximately with the result of our investigation concerning the workers of the whole factory.

It may be interesting to find out what had been the occupations of the 86 workers before they came to the factory. They were agricultural workers 51, skilled labourers 9, servants 3, coolies 10, mercantile employees 12, and soldier 1. In the foregoing classification, "agricultural workers" include farmers, tenants and farm hands; "skilled labourers" include the old-type skilled workers, artisans and handicraftsmen; "servants" include office boys. The nature of the other three kinds of occupation is self-explanatory. All these may be consolidated under two classes, viz. (1) Agricultural workers and (2) industrial workers. It is noteworthy that 51 agricultural workers have turned themselves into industrial hands. The reasons for the change of work from the soil to the factory are many, and it seems that natural calamities, like flood and famine, and social disturbances, like banditry and civil war, have contributed to render country sides in various parts of China almost uninhabitable. Large numbers of peasants have, therefore, been compelled to leave their homes and seek a livelihood in towns. Some have migrated to towns with the hope of improving their standard of living, while others have left their homes simply because of unpleasant family relations.

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wage levels either had no families at Tangku or had them for a period shorter than a year. On the whole the sample may be considered as representative of that class of families in which Chiu Ta workers were main supporters. Besides, if we exclude the new arrivals in 1927, there were in the winter of the preceding year only 90 workers with families in Tangku, of which the 61 familes consituted already two-thirds. If we exclude again the eleven apprentices from consideration, there would remain only 79 families, of which our sample of 61 would constitute three-quarters.

In the analysis of the data, those who did not eat or live at home, or have any share in the family expenses were excluded from our consideration. Sums of money sent by such persons to their homes were considered as "contributions".

Of the 61 working families, 23 migrated from Shantung, 20 from Chihli, 5 from the Metropolitan District, and one from Honan. The remaining 12 were all local families, and of these nine were originally from Shantung or Chihli and established their households there after they had joined the factory.

Thirty two out of the 61 workers, it is found, had been in the employ of the factory from five to eight years, but more than one third of their families were moved to Tangku only for a year or two.

Table 26.—Age Distribution of Workers

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	2	3.3
20-29	18	29.5
30-39	24	39.3
40-49	15	24.6
50-59	—	—
60-69	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

The age distribution of the workers having families is shown in Table 26. It will be noted that 67 per cent is over 29 and

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 29.—Ages of Marriage of 58 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	14[2]
16-20	18	36
21-25	13	7
26-30	15[1]	1
31-35	5[1]	—
36-40	5[1]	—
Total	58	58
Average age of mariage[3] ...	24.1	17.4

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] One of them is the "son's betrothed." At the age of 11, she came to live with her would-be-mother-in-law but her marriage did not take place then.
[3] Excluding ages of second marriage

The members of the 61 families totalled 227, the males and females being about equally divided. Of all the members, over 35 per cent were children under 15, while about 60 per cent were between 15 and 59. Thus the majority was either in blooming

Table 30.—Age and Employment of Members of 61 Families

Age	Males				Females			Total	Per cent
	Chiu Ta factory	Other work	Unemployed	Total	Gainfully employed	Unemployed	Total		
Under 5	—	—	22	22	—	21	21	43	23.6
5-9	—	—	13	13	3	6	9	22	
10-14	—	—	3	3	4	8	12	15	16.7
15-19	5	—	3	8	7	8	15	23	
20-29	19	2	—	21	14	13	27	48	21.1
30-39	24	—	—	24	12	5	17	41	18.1
40-49	15	—	2	17	—	4	4	21	9.3
50-59	—	—	1	1	1	4	5	6	2.6
60-69	2	—	—	2	—	5	5	7	3.1
70-79	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	0.4
All ages	65	2	45	112	41	74	115	227	100.0

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youth or in vigorous and strong manhood. There were among the male members 67 gainfully employed versus 45 unemployed. If we exclude the boys under 15 who were not yet fit to work, the unemployed would be approximately 10 per cent. Among the female members, there were only 41 employed versus 74 unemployed; in fact, if the girls under 15 were not considered, the number of females employed and that of females unemployed was about equal.

It will have been noted that 65 of the employed males in the 61 families were all working at the Chiu Ta Works. Of this number, 61 may be considered as principal wage earners of the respective families, while four others were only earning wages to supplement the family income. The earnings of the female members were generally insignificant. They were mainly engaged in sewing salt bags or making garments which were used as gifts to the workers, but it seems that the work had been very much reduced during the last year, since the curtailment of the production of salt and also the commutation of the gifts of clothing.

Table 31.—Value of Property of 61 Families

Value of property	Number of families
Under $1.000	27
$1.000 and under $2.000	14
$2.000 and under $3.000	2
$3.000 and under $4.000	1
$4.000 and under $5.000	2
$5.000 and above	1
Families owning properties	47
Families owning no property	14
Total	61

According to the reports of the workers, 47 of the 61 working families possessed property of some kind, but only two of

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000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on 465 the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various 124 kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. 464 On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

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(2) fine and (3) wage reduction. Although chances for getting rewards and punishments are many, yet during these two years, only fines have commonly been inflicted, the amounts being from 10 to 30 cents at a time.

Table 42.—Nativity of Pacific Workers (According to the Factory Record)

	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	230	45.5
Shantung	157	31.1
Metropolitan District	24	4.8
Honan	9	1.8
Kwangtung	7	1.4
Hunan	2	0.4
Chekiang	2	0.4
Kiangsu	1	0.2
Anhwei	1	0.2
Unknown	72	14.3
Total	505	100.0

New workers are employed from time to time by the factory. As soon as the news of recruiting workers is known, the old workers usually would introduce any number of their friends for application. The applicants are, first, given a physical examination and, then, a personal interview with the head of the administrative department. If they are qualified at both the examination and the interview, they would be admitted on trial for at least two weeks. When their work proves to be satisfactory, they are then admitted as regular workers and have their wages fixed by the factory authorities. In the meantime, the factory issues a certificate to each on which are printed his name, kind of work and daily wage. According to the regulation, worker's certificates must be renewed every year and any increase in wage should be duly recorded, but this practice has not been followed.

The common worker may be discharged at one week's notice under any of the following conditions: (1) Too weak to do the required work. (2) Absence exceeding 50 days. (3) When a

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466 reduction of work in the factory is found necessary. (4) Violation of the factory regulations by the worker.

The worker may request an honourable dismissal from the factory by giving a week's notice, provided that he is unable to do any more work on account of bad health or on other reasonable grounds. A certificate may be issued to him, if he so desires, stating his work, wages and the reason for his honourable discharge.

• 464 Owing to frequent suspension of work during the early years of the factory, many workers left the place on account of its instability. The rate of turnover was consequently rather high. It was about 20 per cent in 1926. But it may be presumed that the growing prosperity of the Company would, in time, diminish the rate of turnover.

466 It has been mentioned that soda manufacturing is entirely machine work. As many of the workers, on entering the factory, were fresh from the country and had never seen the structure and working of the complicated mechanical contrivances before, they were, at first, apt to meet with accidents of one kind or another. The engineers and their assistants had to direct and supervise very carefully their handling of machinery, in order to avoid danger. Through instruction and experience, however, accidents have been greatly reduced recently. Apart from accidents caused by machinery, burns and colds are easily contracted by firemen and boiler tenders, as they are constantly exposed to fire or excessive heat. But above all, it is the ammonia gas that affects the workers worst. It chokes them and in particular, it causes nausea and indigestion. All these conditions often bring about what may be called occupational diseases of the soda workers, but it is to be noted that the factory is now endeavouring to reduce their seriousness.

Before March 1927, the working hours were either 8 hours or 12 hours a day, but the former was considered the general rule. Those who worked 12 hours a day were given an additional 20 per cent of the daily wage as the overtime pay for the extra four hours' work. The 12-hour day has been abolished since